

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 2. — No. 2.

NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 1, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Vote Communist! Foster and Ford!

COURT DELAYS IN LYNCH LAW CASE

Scottsboro Appeal Held Off Past Elections

Washington, D. C. Surrounded by a pretentious display of force, the Supreme Court of the United States, meeting on October 11, decided to postpone decision on the Scottsboro case, probably until after elections. The court was packed with visitors, eagerly awaiting decision on this sensational case. Among those present was Mrs. Mary Mooney the aged mother of Tom Mooney.

Walter H. Pollak, attorney for the International Labor Defense, presented the case for the defense, showing conclusively that the Negro youths charged with "raping" two white prostitutes were completely innocent and had been convicted and sentenced to death only under pressure of the worst race prejudice. He demanded a new trial. Opposition to a new trial was pressed by Thomas E. Knight, Attorney-General of the State of Alabama.

The judicial murder of the Negro boys has been stopped so far by the wave of protest in all parts of the world, initiated thru the energies of the International Labor Defense. The movement in defense of the boys must not waver for a moment until they are completely out of danger.

SHORT TERM FOR KILLER GUARD

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — One prison guard, George W. Courson, was found guilty of manslaughter and another, Solomon Higginbotham, was acquitted in the case of the murder of a young convict, Arthur Maillefert, in a sweatbox at Sunbeam prison camp. The verdict was reached by the jury on October 15. Manslaughter carries with it a penalty as low as one year. Courson immediately appealed and was released on \$5,000 bail.

Evidence at the trial uncovered a story of almost incredible brutality. Maillefert was first tortured in the most brutal manner and then placed in the sweatbox contraption chained by the neck with his feet encased in stocks. It was Courson who placed the chain around his neck. The boy was so weak from torture that thirty minutes after being placed in the sweatbox, he was dead!

The "defense" of the guards was that Maillefert had committed suicide by raising his legs until he strangled!

Not Natural

Frank McErlane is reported as the third Chicago gangster of importance to die a natural death. The gangs must be getting lame!

Unite Labor Forces Against the Bosses!

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION BRANDS DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES AS BOSSES ORGANIZATIONS—CONDEMNS SOCIALIST SURRENDER POLICY—URGES VOTE FOR COMMUNIST PARTY AS PARTY OF WORKERS

IN this year's Presidential elections the workers and farmers of this country stand face to face with the gravest responsibility. In spite of all the shallow talk of an "upturn" and the "coming back of prosperity", the fact remains that the capitalist system, so dear to Herbert Hoover and to Franklin D. Roosevelt, is completely bankrupt and has exposed itself as an unmitigated curse to mankind. It cannot even feed its own slaves.



At least 12,000,000 in this country are completely unemployed; millions more work only part time. The wages of those who are lucky enough to hold on to their jobs have been slashed to the bone. The trade unions, the basic defense organizations of the workers, are being paralyzed and smashed often with the assistance of the so-called "labor leaders." Farmers are forced to sell their products far below what it cost to produce them. Scores of millions of working people and their families are in the bitter throes of starvation while the granaries are full to bursting and rotting in storage. Hunger, distress, desperate misery stalk the land as far as the producers of all wealth are concerned, while the capitalists, those who live on the labor of others, continue to roll in luxury in spite of their hypocritical wailing about "hard times" and "high taxes." The system of "ragged individualism" has about reached the end of its rope; to allow it to continue much further would mean suicide for the people of this country.

With dozens of millions in acute distress, with all of the usual public and semi-public forms of relief breaking down hopelessly before our very eyes, the government can find nothing better to do than to hand out billions to the big banks, trusts and railroads as "relief". For the jobless workers and starving farmers, there is no relief. The only halfway effective method of meeting the emergency, Federal unemployment insurance, was scornfully rejected by both Republican Administration and Democratic House of Representatives. Lead bullets and poison gas were dealt out to the hungry and homeless veterans who came to ask for the bonus that was rightly theirs. The slogan of the government has always been and continues to be: AID TO THE BANKS, RAILROADS AND TRUSTS! STARVATION AND BULLETS FOR THE POOR!

That is because our government is a government of, by and for the bosses. Its main purpose is to protect the profits of the capitalists and their "right" to live off the labor of others. It is doing its best today to take advantage of the present terrible crisis

to make the rich grow richer and poor, poorer. It is shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the poor people, of the workers and the farmers.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties stand for this cursed system. Hoover and his managers proudly boast of his reaction, of his abject subservience to Big Business. Nothing is offered to the workers and farmers except greater misery, more starvation. And Roosevelt? He goes around parading as a "progressive," but what does he really stand for? Last year he told us that "our great present economic and social system," the system of slavery, unemployment, starvation and war, was "everlasting." Whenever Roosevelt has touched any of the real issues of the campaign, such as unemployment, farm relief, public utilities and railroads, he has shown himself to be either a hopeless conservative, a twin Herbert Hoover, or else a windbag demagogue. His program has been hailed by bank presidents and trust magnates, the worst enemies of labor. No wonder Charles Schwab, leading steel king, recently said of him: "Business has nothing to fear from Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is not a radical in any sense of the term. He is a sound conservative!" The workers and farmers have nothing to expect from Roosevelt and the Democrats except greater misery and more starvation.

The Socialists indeed emphasize their opposition to capitalism but what are they actually doing? Not only do the Socialists frequently support the conservative labor leaders who are doing their best to paralyze the struggles of the workers and to hand them over to the tender mercies of the bosses, but their whole campaign seems to consist of efforts to placate the employers, to provide them with "guarantees" that no "upheavals" would follow the attempt to put the Socialist party program into execution. This is no way to defend the interests of the workers; this is the way to surrender their interests. Not by begging, not by "placating", not by kowtowing to the bosses and to the misleaders of labor, but by fighting can labor get anything or get anywhere. No sincere and consistent Socialist can continue to support the Socialist party.

The burning need of the workers is to put up a strong united front politically against the bosses and their twin parties. A powerful Labor party, made up of the trade unions, labor political bodies and other workers organizations, as well as farmers associations, would be a big step forward in the struggle of labor for its very existence, for decent

(Continued on Page Two)

PAPEN TO RAISE VOTING AGE

Part Of General Plan To Restore Old System

Berlin, Germany.

Before a large assembly of Bavarian industrialists in Munich, Chancellor Franz von Papen, on October 12, announced the plans of the Junker-militarist clique of throwing the last spadefull of earth over the unhonored corpse of the Weimar "democratic" constitution and of establishing a monarchist or semi-monarchist autocracy in the Reich on the old Hohenzollern model. A new draft constitution is to be placed before the coming Reichstag, von Papen declared, according to which the Cabinet, chosen by the Reich-President, would be dominant and not the Reichstag, supposed to be the expression of the "will of the people." A "strong upper house" was also urged. This "fundamental change in the structure of Germany", the Chancellor declared, was necessary to "assure the stability of the government."

It was even suggested that a new upper chamber be established to override the veto of which a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag would be necessary. A proposal to make the Reich-President also head of Prussia, just as the German Emperor used to be King of Prussia, was included. It was finally urged to raise the voting age from 20 years to 25.

It is clear enough that the Weimar constitution, of which the Social-democrats were so proud, is completely dead and buried. The Junker-militarist clique is aiming at the reestablishment of old Hohenzollern system, while the Nazis are out for a Fascist dictatorship. Only the Communists are championing the interests of real democracy, democracy for the vast oppressed masses, democracy thru workers councils (Soviets).

BIG BANQUET ON NOVEMBER 5

New York City

A special celebration and banquet is being arranged by the New York organization of the Communist Party (Opposition) to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. It will take place on the evening of November 5 at the New Harlem Casino, 116 Street and Lenox Avenue.

An attractive program will be provided. There will be dancing and dining and speaking and all for the small sum of fifty cents. The entire proceeds will go to the "Workers Age."

Every militant worker will want to be present at this banquet-celebration and bring his friends with him.

\$1.00 a Year - - 50c for Six Months

These are the subscription rates for the "Workers Age" during the period of the Big Drive which lasts until December 15, 1932. The aim of this drive is

1,000 New Readers by December 15

To put over this Drive means to strengthen the base of "Age and to prepare the way for its most rapid return to a weekly

PUB OVER THE BIG DRIVE

Sub rates will go up December 15. Get on the job now!

Subscribe at Once!

Lovestone Speaks Sun. Oct. 23 - 228 2nd Av. 'Prospects of Capitalism' 8 p. m.

The News in Brief

AT HOME

::

ABROAD

BIG PARTIES NOMINATE NONENTITIES IN N. Y.

NEW YORK CITY.—After a last minute deal with Edward J. Flynn, Bronx Democratic leader, an adherent of the Roosevelt faction and champion of Mayor McKee, Big Boss John F. Curry put over, at the Tammany city convention meeting on October 6, the nomination of Surrogate John F. O'Brien for Mayor. O'Brien immediately announced his intentions of following in the footsteps of Jimmie Walker! Both Walker and McKee had "withdrawn" from the race. Two days later the Republican organization assembled in convention and nominated Lewis H. Pounds of Brooklyn. Both are insignificant figures in municipal affairs.

FARMERS BEGIN MARCH ON WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON.—Five hundred farmers have definitely determined to join the "march on Washington" for a four-day conference beginning December 7, according to Lem Harris, executive secretary of the Farmers National Relief Conference. He predicted that the total number would reach 5,000. The Farmers National Relief Conference is an outgrowth of the recent "farm holiday" movement which originated in Iowa. It consists of those who are opposed to the passive and surrender policies of the leaders of the type of Milo Reno. The conference demands a moratorium on all debts, a stop page of all forced sales and foreclosures, a rise in price of food products to come out of middlemen's profits and immediate cash relief for all poor farmers.

UNEMPLOYMENT RISES IN AUGUST

WASHINGTON.—Unemployment increased by at least 100,000 in the month of August over July, according to the calculations of the American Federation of Labor, based upon reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In New York State, however, factory employment went up 5.5% between August and September, with payroll totals climbing 9.3%. The increase is primarily in light manufacturing industries.

500,000 NOW STARVING IN NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK CITY.—There are more than 500,000 people in the city of New York who must have public assistance in order to maintain their very existence, according to Harvey D. Gibson, chairman of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee in a radio address on October 11. Conditions he said, would continue to get worse at least until February.

NEW YORK CITY.—The "New Yorker Volkszeitung," German language labor daily here, suspended on October 12 because of lack of funds. Attempts are being made for a reorganization with the hope of resuming publication in the near future. The "Volkszeitung" was founded in 1878 and has been one of the most outstanding radical papers in the country.

PRINCETON.—A movement against the ruling of Secretary of Labor Doak ousting from this country foreign students working for a living, was initiated here on October 9. Similar movements are already well under way at all college centers in this country.

WASHINGTON.—The Supreme Court has decided against allowing a review of the decision to deport A. Jokinen, a New York Communist, to Finland, where he would meet with almost certain death. The International Labor Defense is now trying to win the right of free departure for Jokinen.

SOVIETS OPEN GIANT POWER PLANTS

DNIEPOSTROY, U. S. S. R.—Amidst great demonstrations and tremendous rejoicing, the largest hydroelectric plants in the world was opened here on October 10 and dedicated to the cause of socialist construction. Dniepostroy was hailed by Colonel Cooper, an American engineer active in its construction, as "the most difficult engineering work of its kind that the world has ever attempted to handle."

HALF OF MANCHURIA IS IN STATE OF REVOLT

MUKDEN.—More than half of the area technically under control of the new Japanese puppet-state of Manchukuo is actually in the hands of rebels. The outermost region, Barga, is reported to have seceded and to have set up a Soviet government. Other sections of Manchuria are in the control of Kuomintang generals maintaining some sort of connections with Nanking.

Meanwhile rumors are widespread that Pu Yi, chief puppet of Manchukuo, is "contemplating the possibility of restoring at least a part of China under the Machu dynasty." This attempt at a monarchist restoration is very obviously a part of Japan's plans for the colonial subjugation of China.

10,000 BELFAST JOBLESS IN DEMONSTRATION

BELFAST, Northern Ireland.—Over 100,000 jobless workers demonstrated in the streets of this city on October 11 in protest against the miserable conditions and low pay of relief work. The reactionary government of Northern Ireland immediately mobilized the police of six counties, about 3,000 in number, and threw them in to disperse the gigantic demonstration. About fifty workers were wounded and one killed as a result of the police attacks. Immediately after the clashes hundreds of arrests were made throughout the city where a veritable reign of terror has been established. Troops have been sent from England to help the authorities in suppressing the unrest among the workers.

4-POWER CONFERENCE IS CALLED OFF

LONDON.—The four-power conference supposed to be held here to consider the disarmament deadlock between Germany and France, has been "postponed" according to a notice of the Foreign Office on October 6. The hopelessness of arriving at any sort of an agreement, no matter how patched up and temporary, forced this step.

PLAN WHITE DICTATOR FOR LIBERIA

WASHINGTON.—A plan to confer dictatorial powers upon a foreign "adviser" to Liberia has been drawn up by a League of Nations committee and submitted to the State Department where it has met with partial approval. The Firestone Rubber Company, which has a stranglehold on Liberia and its people, is expected to finance this plan which has been officially referred to it by the State Department for consideration. The scheme is calculated to achieve the complete colonial subjugation of the country to American financial interests.

OTTAWA.—Canadian tariff walls are to be readjusted to favor trade with the United Kingdom as against American trade, according to an announcement of the Prime Minister on October 12. At the same time steps are being taken by which the United Kingdom will give preference to the products of Canada. This decision is expected to have serious consequences for American commerce.

Put Over the Age Drive!

The campaign for 1,000 new readers of the "Age" is now almost one month old. Almost one-third of the time allotted to the Drive has gone but the best we have been able to record is slightly over 10%.

We must sound a note of warning. Unless we secure the best part of the set quota and broaden the base of support for the "Workers Age"—it is not at all certain that we will be able to maintain the "Age" even as a semi-monthly. We must get busy now, before it is too late and it is not too late now! A number of out of town units have shown real energy and good results:

Chicago and Hartford Show the Way

The Chicago group has already realized 40% of its sub quota and promises to go over the top before the Drive is over.

Hartford A Close Second
Our Hartford group, tho including mostly new members, is showing life and activity which put to shame the results shown by the New York units. With 35% of their quota realized and a doubling of their bundle order they are showing their heels to much larger units of our group.

Fort Wayne Scores Heavily
For best all-around work for the "Workers Age," Fort Wayne is a model. The pledges made by Connors and Long at our national conference are being realized in good time. The unit has realized 30% of its sub quota, is up-to-date in its 5% tax payments and has raised its bundle order to 75. To finish off a good job the comrades paid for two issues ahead.

Our Brooklyn comrades are doing excellent work in selling the "Age." Comrade Lilly Michaels, broke her own record by selling 62 "Ages" this week. The unit is weak in the sub drive, having raised only 6% of its quota.

Comrade Moriarty (Toronto, Canada) has increased the bundle order. Good work. How about some subs?

What about our New York units? We expect a big spurt in the coming two weeks

Follow this column for the progress of the drive.

NEW YORK CITY.—Over 1,500 Communists and sympathizers met at a banquet in Webster Hall on October 12 in support of the candidacy of Foster and Ford.

ST. PAUL, Minn.—A new clash between farm strike picketers and sheriff's men took place here on October 12. Four persons were injured.

World of Labor

Selling Labor to the Boss Parties

A spectacle that ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every honest worker, who has any regard for his own interests or the interests of his class, is the annual, biennial and quadrennial fairs conducted by the self-styled "leaders" of the labor movement where they sell the "labor vote" at so much per head to the various corrupt capitalist political machines. Never are times so "good" in this branch of "legitimate business" as in Presidential years!

In New York City, the Central Trades and Labor Council, in which labor unions embracing 750,000 organized workers are represented, has adopted a resolution endorsing the candidacy of Governor Roosevelt for the Presidency, of Herbert H. Lehman for Governor, and of all other Democratic candidates in the nation and State. The resolution urged the organized workers to vote for the candidates endorsed. The support of these candidates was urged on the ground that they were "friends of labor" and on the basis of their so-called "labor record." At this meeting of the Central Trades a lone voice was raised for the Socialists, while there was nobody at all to present the case of the Communists.

A few days later, the leaders of the Central Trades completed their work by endorsing John P. O'Brien, the nonentity whom Big Boss Curry put up as candidate for Mayor. In New York City, the workers have again been sold, at least as far as the labor leaders can help it, as so many head of cattle to Tammany Hall, one of the most corrupt reactionary political machines in this country.

In other parts of the land the same shameful farce is being performed. "Deportations" Doak, formerly a leader of the trainmen's union, raises his voice for Hoover as the "friend of labor" and praises the Republican party as a "real working men's party." In every industrial center, North, East, South, West, labor is being sold to either the Republicans or the Democrats, to either one of the twin parties of capital.

In the labor movement itself only the weakest resistance is to be noted to these treacherous activities of the officials, who are real labor lieutenants of the bosses. The Socialists, trying to curry the good favor of the officialdom, keep quiet and swallow their principles. The Socialists are very strong in the New York Central Trades but what have they done to fight for their own standard-bearer, Norman Thomas? A gesture for Hillcutt but for Norman Thomas—nothing! They have entered into an "understanding" with Tammany and are "tolerated" on condition that they keep mum. The official Communist Party has cut itself completely away from the labor movement because of its suicidal

sectarian policies. And the Communist Opposition is still too weak to successfully carry forward the banner that the official Communist Party has dropped!

The situation in which the organized workers are sold as so many cattle to their worst enemies, to those who live on their labor, to those who exploit and oppress them, this situation must be a stinging reproach and challenge to every honest and militant worker. The first step the workers must take in breaking the stranglehold of the bosses over them, is to break away from the two big parties of capital, the Republican and Democratic parties, and to organize a big party of labor, a Labor party, made up of the trade unions, of the labor political bodies and of other workers organizations, as well as of farmers associations, in fact of all those who toil by hand or brain. Such a party would be able to put up a solid front politically against the combined and organized power of capital. Such a party would take the first step in the direction of uniting labor on the political field and once united and conscious of its own interests and aims, labor is invincible!

ANTI UNION FORCES HIT IN LOCAL 22

New York City.
On Wednesday, October 12, there took place one of the most significant meetings of Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

The situation in the local was quite critical. The chief question was the resignation submitted by Bluestein, the manager of the local and a leader of the progressive Trade Union Circle. The resignation came as a result of his disgust with and protest against the do-nothing policy and sabotage of the International and joint board officials as far as any real struggle for bettering the conditions of the dressmakers was concerned. The right wing Club and the ultra-left Left Group (the T. U. U. L. organization) grasped at this resignation as a chance for them to strike a further blow to demoralize and weaken the union, in which they are both interested. The left wing Dressmakers Progressive League, on the other hand, determined to throw in all its forces to save the union and to stem the tide of demoralization. At the meeting matters came to a head. The ultra-rights and the ultra-lefts combined in favor of accepting the resignation. The left-wing and progressive forces were against accepting it. Zimmerman, Nelson and Rosenthal, of the Dressmakers Progressive League, made a sharp attack on the right wing officialdom of the I. L. G. W. U., but also criticized Bluestein for "meeting" the situation by resigning, that is, by running away! Rose Mirsky, of the Circle, also spoke against the resignation.

The vote was a blow in the face to both the ultra-rights and the ultra-lefts. In spite of their unholy combination, their destructive maneuver was defeated and the left-wing progressive forces scored a victory over both combined.

The good effect of this vote and of the whole meeting became noticeable immediately among the dressmakers. Again an attempt of the combined union wreckers has been repulsed!

OPEN FORUM

CONDUCTED BY NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

228 Second Avenue (Cor. 14th Street)

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 8:30

Sunday, Oct. 23, 8:30 P. M.—

JAY LOVESTONE WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN CAPITALISM? (The "Upturn" And The Elections)

VOTE COMMUNIST! VOTE FOR FOSTER AND FORD

(Continued from Page One)

conditions of life, for a world fit to live in. Today the forces of labor are unfortunately still too divided to make any such movement immediately possible. Of all the parties in the field today, the only party that stands foursquare for the interests of the workers and working farmers, is the Communist Party. This party stands solid against capitalism; it stands solid for labor. It stands against wage-cuts. It stands for unemployment insurance for the jobless and for emergency relief for the poor farmers. It stands for complete social and political

equality for the Negro people. It stands for the rights of the workers against the attempts of suppression by the bosses. It stands against another imperialist world war in which the masses would be slaughtered for the profits of Big Business.

In spite of its incorrect tactics today, in spite of the great shortcomings of its platform and campaign, it is the only party which the workers and working farmers can support if they really have their own interests at heart, the interests of their class, if they really want effective resistance to the brutal attacks of the capitalists.

Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!
National Committee
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
(Opposition)

McKee, Tammany Unite In "Economy" Fraud

Big Bankers Dictate New York Finances

New York City. The powerful banking groups who hold New York City and its people by the throat and control its economic and financial life, have notified Controller Berry that they will bar all loans to the city unless the Board of Estimate will "make good its pledges of strict economy" by framing for 1933 a budget far below that of 1932. Last January the bankers pumped a \$100,000,000 loan for the city and established a revolving fund of \$150,000,000 after the Board had promised to "retrench." The condition of city finances is so bad that unless loans are forthcoming it is feared that November 1 salaries of municipal employees will not be paid.

What "strict economy" and "retrenchment" mean, is shown in the proposals made by Mayor Joseph McKee, the darling of the liberals and municipal reformers. In answering protests on the part of numerous organizations against cutting the Board of Education budget, McKee curtly announced: "It is my opinion that if pupils are more than 14, we are carrying them beyond American ideals in education. We are pampering and softening boys and girls. It wasn't many years ago that boys were working for a living at 14. Now we're educating boys of 18 or over and inclining their minds towards theories of government and education far beyond what is necessary."

Real estate owners and property owners associations enthusiastically applauded the Mayor's remarks. According to McKee's ideas of economy the city should close down all high schools and free colleges. Only the rich, according to our Mayor, are entitled to an education! As far as the poor are concerned, education just puts ideas into their heads, "inclines their minds towards theories of government and education far beyond what is necessary." These are "American ideals in education!" "Economy", in the language of the city administration, means the cutting to the bone of all social services, including education, the slashing of wages of teachers and other municipal employees, the

sharp decrease of the meager relief that the jobless have been receiving. And, curiously enough, whatever differences they may have on other questions, both McKee and Tammany are agreed on the program of "economy." They both jump at the crack of the master's whip!

At the same time that the bankers are demanding "retrenchment," the Emergency Work and Relief Administration recommends that the city plan to spend as a very minimum \$30,000,000 on home and work relief in the six months beginning November 1, almost doubling the amount spent in the last six months. This is regarded as absolutely essential in view of great increase of distress and starvation in the city.

BRIDGMAN CASE IS REVIVED

Foster, Lovestone And Others To Be Tried

LANSHING, Mich.—The Michigan Supreme Court has been asked by the State to set the trial date for William Z. Foster, Communist Party Presidential candidate, and eighteen others, including Jay Lovestone and Alex Bail of the Communist Opposition, on charges of criminal syndicalism brought against them in 1922.

This is the famous Bridgman case which came as a result of the raiding of a convention of the Communist Party. Both Foster and Ruthenberg were tried, the former released because the jury disagreed and the latter convicted. Now the case is to be revived again as a blow to the militant labor movement.

Unemployed and the Political Parties

Why The Jobless Should Vote Communist

The big question at the present time, as far as tens of millions of workers and their families are concerned, is unemployment. What the candidates of the various parties propose to do about unemployment, how they propose to meet the emergency brought about by it, is certainly a key question for the workers in deciding for whom to vote. Let us examine the attitude of the four outstanding candidates and parties on this key question.

1. *Hoover—Republican*: Hoover holds out nothing to the workers except hunger and starvation. The Republican party has opposed and the Republican President has vetoed every measure to give even the most meager direct relief to the starving jobless. Hoover believes that for the government to

give the jobless any relief would be to break down their "rugged individualism," while the banks, railroads and trusts of course, can and do receive billions from the government. Hoover answered the appeal of the veterans for their bonus with hot lead and poison gas. Hoover is violently opposed to Federal unemployment insurance. Finally, Hoover is an enthusiastic champion of the chaotic capitalist system, which breeds crises, unemployment, starvation and war.

2. *Roosevelt—Democratic*: Roosevelt parades around as a "progressive" but what has he to say about unemployment? He too champions the capitalist system that is responsible for all our misery; indeed he has announced that this system is "everlasting." He too is against the payment of the bonus. The Democratic platform has a mild statement in favor of State unemployment insurance, which, considering that industry has no State lines and workers move from one State to another, is practically ineffective. A good example of the type of unemployment "insurance" championed by Roosevelt is the bill now pending before the State legislature with the blessings of the Governor. This bill pretends to provide for insurance but in the first place it is *voluntary*, so that only those bosses who want to need provide it, which means that nobody will; and in the second place, the *maximum* provided for is \$10 for ten weeks, so that anybody unemployed three months is out in the cold anyway. It is clear that Roosevelt's "favoring" unemployment insurance is no more than a vote-getting fraud; really, his position is hard to tell apart from Hoover's. Certainly Hoover himself could not think up a more degrading and anti-labor "relief" scheme than the "back to the farm" movement update!

To the worker, to the poor farmer, to great numbers of white collar workers it must become obvious that a vote for either Republican or Democratic candidates is a vote of confidence in the capitalist system—the system of unemployment, starvation, war, exploitation and oppression. These millions can demonstrate their determination to work for a change by a vote against the capitalist parties, and, in the absence of a genuine Labor party, by a vote for those who determinedly, fearlessly, and uncompromisingly stand and work for such a change—the Communists.

Not that the vote will be the means of making such a change, but it will serve as an instrument to unite those desiring the change into a powerful, compact and broad movement which will be capable of leading the way towards a new society.

3. *Thomas—Socialist party*: Norman Thomas and the Socialist party say they are for unemployment relief and for unemployment insurance. But Thomas is against giving the ex-soldiers their bonus as a substantial measure of relief. Instead of putting up a real fight for jobless insurance, the Socialist candidates talk about slum-clearing and other public works as the "solution" for everything, just as do the capitalist politicians. Thomas has endorsed the various "cooperative self-help" frauds, which, whatever may be their intention, result in establishing scab shops to undermine labor standards. Thomas has given at least partial endorsement to the Block-Aid drive, which tried to get the money necessary for unemployment relief from the workers and the poor people, those least able to afford it, instead of from the rich by heavy taxation. The shameful inactivity of the Socialist party as an organization in fighting for unemployment relief shows that with them too it is hardly more than a gesture.

4. *Foster—Communist Party*: The Communists and the Communist candidates have declared themselves categorically in favor of Federal unemployment insurance and they are fighting hard to get it. The Communists have come out in favor of the bonus for the veterans. The Communists are fighting for adequate unemployment relief immediately and this relief to be paid for by taxing the capitalists and the rich. The Communists are against the various frauds that are paraded around as forms of "relief" or even as "solutions" of the unemployment situation. Finally the Communists are utterly against the rotten and decaying capitalist system which is responsible for unemployment, poverty and all the other evils from which the workers suffer.

There is only one answer: Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!

Unite Against Capitalist System, Election Call to Workers and Farmers

"Save the capitalist system!"—this is the cry of the bankers, manufacturers, railroad magnates, coal operators, speculators, Wall Street bears and bulls—the whole crew of leeches who live on the backs of the workers and who see the handwriting on the wall in the present world-wide economic crisis. And "Save the capitalist system!" has become the election campaign slogan of the Democratic and Republican parties, the servants of the bosses and exploiters, of the Morgans and the Rockefellers, of the Raskebs and the Mellons.

"Save the capitalist system by saving the big capitalists and their institutions, the banks, railroads, trust companies!" say Hoover and the Republican party, the traditional party of capitalism in the United States and the representative of the aristocracy of wealth. And in accordance with this policy, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other government undertakings have proceeded to put billions of dollars at the disposal of the big millionaire corporations in this country, have lined the pockets of speculators with gold thru the operation of the Farm Board, and, at the same time, have used poison gas and machine guns against hungry veterans and have left the millions of unemployed workers and destitute farmers throat the land to starve to death.

"Save the capitalist system by helping out the second layer of exploiters—the smaller manufacturers and the small banks, the well-to-do farmers, the newly rich and the small speculators!" say Roosevelt and the Democratic party; and, at the same time, to "keep

the workers and farmers from becoming radical", throw them a bone in the form of some pitiful relief. This is the meaning of the Roosevelt "forgotten man" story and of the Garner-Vagner "relief" bill. The Democrats propose to replace the brutal starvation policies of the Hoover administration with slower and more subtle forms of starvation, covered with a warm smile and an empty promise.

The difference between the Democratic and Republican parties is a difference over which master to serve and what to do to preserve capitalism. The Republican party, owned by Mellon, Rockefeller and Mills, is in this election campaign frankly and brutally anti-labor and arch-reactionary. It openly declares its intention to serve its own class in the present crisis; it wants to save the capitalists at the expense of the workers and farmers; it wants to promote the interests of the big capitalists at the expense of even the smaller ones. It even tries to appeal to those workers having jobs to worry about themselves and let the devil take the unemployed.

The Democratic party, the party of the "outs", both politically and economically, is owned by a small group of financial oligarchs, at whose head stands the House of Morgan. But the bulk of its membership is made up of small manufacturers, bankers, merchants—the lower middle classes of the city. Consequently, while carrying out the wishes of Morgan and Company, it at the same time pays lip service to the petty bourgeoisie, particularly so in times of crisis. This is the explanation of the petty bourgeois "revolts" which from time to time have seized the Demo-

cracy since the Great French Revolution. It traces the background, course and main phases of the Russian Revolution, the development of capitalism and of the labor movement and of Socialism, the 1905 Revolution, the war, the 1917 Revolution, and the triumph of Bolshevism.

Other courses given by the school are: *Current History*, Friday evenings at 8:30 P. M., with Jay Lovestone; *The Liberation of American Literature*, four lectures in December, Thursdays at 8:30 P. M., with V. F. Calverton; *Marxian Economics*, Tuesday evenings at 8:30 P. M., with Bertram D. Wolfe; *Fundamentals of Communism*, Fridays, 7:30 P. M., with D. Benjamin; and *History of the Revolutionary Movement in the United States*, Fridays at 7:00 P. M., with Will Herberg.

SCHOOL OFFERS NEW COURSES

New York City.

A course suitable for every worker and for every one active in any branch of the labor movement, is the slogan of the New Workers School, which has just opened its Fall 1932 term at its quarters, 228 Second Avenue.

To those who want to get a general review of the world-moving theories of Marx and Engels, of the *basic conceptions of Marxism*, the course by that name, given on Tuesday evenings at 7:00 P. M., with B. Herman as instructor, is very useful. This course examines the roots of Marxism, dialectical materialism, the main phases of Marxian economics, the revolutionary working class movement, and especially the application of Marxian theories to the United States.

The course in *Communist strategy and tactics*, given Tuesdays at 8:30, with Alex Bail as instructor, goes very well with the one just described. It treats of the problems arising from the relations of the Communists with the workers, and the workers organizations, especially the trade unions; it examines the various tendencies in the labor movement, and finally it analyzes the controversial questions in the Communist movement itself.

The course in the *History of the Russian Revolution*, on Tuesdays at 7:00 P. M., with Herbert Zam as instructor, is a thoro study of the greatest event in human his-

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO—

The Workers Age

A Semi-Monthly Magazine for Workers and Farmers

228 Second Avenue

SPECIAL SUB RATE

ONE DOLLAR FOR ONE YEAR

(Fifty Cents for Six Months)

PRICE GOES UP DECEMBER 15

Name

Address

One Year—One Dollar ☐ Six Months—Fifty Cents ☐

**Banquet Celebrating Russian Revolution
Nov. 5th - Get Tickets Now!**

The German Parties and the September Coup

Berlin, Germany
September 24, 1932.

The conflict between the Reichstag on the one hand and the government and the Reichs-President on the other may appear externally as a conflict between parliament and executive. The real content of this conflict, however, stands in the greatest possible contradiction to the external appearance. In reality it is a struggle for power of the forces of the fascist dictatorship against the power of the existing Junker-monarchistic dictatorship. As far as the fascists are concerned, parliament is only a mask, only a weapon of struggle.

That the Nazis are not serious in the defense of the rights of parliament is obvious from their conduct before, during and after that twelfth of September. The tactics adopted by them, while directly contrary to their self-imputed aims were in fact in full harmony with their real objectives. Their defense of parliament may be mere pretense, pure demagoguery; but their struggle for political power is a real struggle.

To the National-Socialists, the question, stripped to its bare essentials, stood as follows: *Could they smash the Reichswehr? If they could not smash it, then it was necessary to win it. And the latter course required not only special tactics in connection with the Reichswehr but, above all, broad and basic work of preparation of a general political character.* This is what they are trying to do now and under especially favorable conditions. They have broken their ties with the Papen-Schleicher government and today appear as the champions against "reaction"; they are even emphasizing their "revolutionary" and "socialist" character!

These tactics are, on a counter-revolutionary basis, to a certain extent the counterpart of the Bolshevik tactics towards the Kerenky government in the Spring and Summer of 1917. The Bolsheviks did not then issue the slogan of the immediate overthrow of the Kerenky regime; on the contrary their slogan was "patient enlightenment", i.e., the undermining of the mass foundations of the Kerenky regime. Only when this was accomplished could they approach the question of the immediate struggle for power. Naturally, with the fascists it is not a question of any real enlightenment but of planned counter-revolutionary deception of the masses. The position of the Nazis enables them to break into the camp of the working class more effectively than before.

The Center party, which assured itself a decisive position in the parliamentary republic by maneuvering between the parliamentary rights and lefts, is trying to regain its previous key position on a new basis: it is now trying to maneuver between Papen-Schleicher and Hitler. It may regain its key position but no longer upon the Weimar constitution, for already the Center, after negotiations with the Nazis, has declared itself ready for a "reform" of the constitution. For this purpose the Center is making use of the fine Jesuitical distinction between the "fixed" and the "variable" parts of the constitution. It is significant that in this stage the higher clergy are reappearing in the foreground of the party, while Bruening and the Christian trade unions are taking a back seat.

The "democratic" press (it is no longer possible to speak of democratic parties) is tumbling head over heels in the most indecent haste to affirm the full constitutionality of the conduct of the Papen-Schleicher regime on Sept. 12 and to present the Nazis as "violators of the constitution" and as "trouble-makers." The right and left wings of the big bourgeoisie demand "peace and quiet" above all things, in the interests of business, and, for the moment, "peace and quiet" are represented to large sections of them by the existing power. At the same time, however, the Papen-Schleicher

The Nazis and the Papen-Schleicher Regime

by Leo (Berlin)

government is appealed to in various way to make its peace with Hitler, to reach an agreement with the fascists. The emergency decrees of the government are greeted as welcome gifts but the big agrarians are grumbling that they are getting so little while the export industry is complaining that the concessions to the big agrarians are bad for business. The confidence of the big bourgeoisie in the stability of the Papen-Schleicher government is obviously on the decline.

The Social-democracy embodies

the most shameful, most discredited features of petty bourgeois democracy. "The day of election is the day of reckoning," repeats the "Vorwarts" as if July 20 and September 12 had taken place on the moon! In the Social-democracy there is stirring today a double opposition. The first is the young generation of the party and trade union bureaucracy, "November-Socialists", who have been acting terribly "radical" since they have been kicked out of their govern-

ment positions. In reality, these elements are even to the right of Weis and Severing. They are thoroughly chauvinistic and nationalistic. They will be the first to desert to the Nazis. The opposition of the Social-democratic workers is of an entirely different character. It is, however, still unformed and unclear. It is looking for "new leaders" and will therefore frequently fall victim to the former element. It is not yet looking for new principles. It is perhaps beginning to appreciate that the Weimar republic is over, is lost, but it has not yet understood that

it must hold aloft a new form of democracy as its aim.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Germany have made the catastrophic error of taking seriously the parliamentary ballyhoo. They have failed to use the parliamentary tribune to arouse the working class against bankrupt parliamentarism. The demagoguery of the Nazis is supported in a dangerous manner by these leaders, of course against their knowledge and will. The C.P.G. is in danger of sliding down the same incline as did the Communist Party of Poland in 1926, when it regarded Pilsudski as the "left" defender of the rights of parliament and of the people against the reactionary "right wingers."

In the given situation, the Reichstag elections have, for the working class, largely the significance of providing a means of extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses. No one who is able to see and to think is today ready to believe that some other composition of the parliament will make any change in the real relations of power.

The real axis of the struggle is found today in the resistance that the working class is able to put up to the execution of the emergency decrees and in the utilization of its mass organizations for this resistance. Upon this point must all forces be concentrated.

agents to be selected for this department. At a secret caucus meeting of this clique, Bilitzky expressed the opinion that if the "Gentile" locals would oppose the creation of the maintenance department and be permitted to affiliate with the Building Trades Council, it might become a question for some locals to organize an alteration union.

The following are the four basic demands of the Farmers National Relief Conference, representing the left wing of the recent "farmers holiday" movement. The conference is planning a march upon Washington towards the end of the year.

1. Debts, rents, taxes, mortgages remain high. Prices are ridiculously low. Therefore we demand a moratorium on all these debts.

2. With 15,000,000 unemployed and no hope of jobs in the cities, we proclaim our right to remain on our farm homes. We demand that all foreclosures, tax sales, or evictions of farmers be stopped.

3. We demand from the dealers, middlemen and food trusts that a deep cut into their swollen profits be used to raise the farm prices. We insist that the rise in the price of food products come out of these middlemen profits, and not from increased prices to city consumers.

4. Our crops bring no cash return, but sell for a loss. Without money, millions of us cannot buy food or clothing. Our children are slowly starving, contracting pellagra and other hunger diseases. To insure at least the bare necessities of life, we demand immediate cash relief for all poor farmers.

Sold Out Before It Even Began!

THE N. Y. PAINTERS STRIKE AND ITS BETRAYERS

by H. Edwards

We publish below the second installment of the article by Comrade Edwards on the New York painters strike. The third will appear in the next issue.—Editor

The membership of New York District Council resented any wage-cut and on May 1, when the association employers put their new wage scale into effect, all workers went out on strike. Not being affiliated with the Building Trades Council, they were ready to resist and carry on a fight for maintenance of their scale of \$13.20 a day. Vice-President Kelley ordered the workers to go back to work for \$10.00 per day and demanded that the strike committee of the District Council be dismissed, declaring that he would negotiate a wage scale with the employers. When militant workers in the council and in the locals exposed his treacherous role, Kelley departed from the city and left the union in a demoralized condition. Mr. Lindelof was in New York towards the beginning of the strike. At a meeting with strike committee of which President Lindelof and Vice-President Kelley were present they pledged the G.E.B.'s full moral and financial support for the strike; they promised that on all jobs of New York employers outside of New York the painters would be taken off until these employers would sign the agreement with the New York council. Such action would have forced a group of big employers, leading members of the association, who had painting contracts on large operations in different cities, to sign the agreement. But instead of stopping the work of these employers, the G.E.B. permitted the Browning Painting Company, a leading New York concern, to go on with their work on buildings in Washington, D. C., unhampered. In Long Island the Barker Painting Company kept on working their jobs with members of the Queens district council, by signing over the contract to one of their paid protectors, Haim Zeeckel (Hymie Shain), a underworld character. Fischel Brothers were working on another job in the same section by signing over the job to one of their foremen. The business agent of the Brooklyn local supplied all men on the job of R. Ginsberg, a New York employer, a member of the "Socialist" Forward Association and of the Workmen's Circle. After the New York men went out on strike, all the requests of the strike committee that work on these and many more jobs should be stopped, were ignored. With this support of the employers by the G.E.B. and officials of the union organizations outside the strike area (Manhattan-Bronx), the employers association now put forth vigorously its demands for a two-scale of wages. Together with "appeal" letters sent to the home addresses of strikers and paid advertise-

ments in the press, they hired the Lepke-Garrah gang (formerly the Curley gang) to force the workers into submission to the treacherous agreement made by Mr. Lindelof. This gang holds the painters union of New York and Brooklyn as a part of their racket; almost all important officials and leaders are controlled by them. Until a few months ago when the leader of the gang, Hymie Curley, disappeared, his brother, Jack Holtz, was a business agent of the Brooklyn local. The Master Painters Association, led by Mr. C. G. Norman, chairman of the Building Trades Employers Association, were able to use this gang to enforce the acceptance of the agreement, thru their connections in the union. A similar method was applied by Mr. Norman in the Brooklyn painters strike in 1927, when the then famous gangster, Little Augie, with Jack Diamond, his bodyguard, accompanied by Mr. Moss, the then secretary of Mr. C. G. Norman, appeared before the strike committee and Little Augie ordered the officials of the strike to attach their signatures to an agreement which was handed over by Mr. Moss to the chairman of the strike committee. It was well known in the union circles that for carrying out this job Little Augie was to receive \$50,000. Little Augie failed because, for his interference in the Brooklyn painters strike, he was killed and Jack Diamond wounded. Mr. Norman always plays the role of being "fair" and in "favor of organized labor;" he believes that it is easier and cheaper to bribe officials directly or to have them sign agreements with underworld help, than to fight strikes with strike-breakers. The Lepke-Garrah gang was brought by him to do the job.

While the strike committee, in the third week of the strike, refused to consider any proposals from individual employers, as well as from an organized group of alteration employers in the Bronx, employing about 3,500 painters, who were willing to sign an agreement with the union for \$8.00 per day on alteration work, a demoralizing campaign was carried on among the strikers in the halls that the strike would be lost if the two-wage scale is not accepted. To force this issue to the foreground a double-edged scheme was applied: race prejudice between Jews and Gentile was stirred up. The clique among the "Jews" accused the "Gentiles" that, due to the latter's inactivity in the strike, they are forced to agree to the two-scale agreement. The McNamara clique, the "Gentiles", accused the "Jews", who control the District Council, of forcing upon them the two scales. To further the confusion among the workers, the McNamara clique, pretending that they were fighting for one scale of wages, \$11.20 per day, succeeded in carrying thru decisions in the "Gentile" locals 51, 499, 848, 892.

to affiliate with the Building Trades Council. Such affiliation would automatically end the strike on the basis of the existing agreement between the Building Trades Council and the Building Trades Employers Association. The McNamara clique kept hidden from the membership of the "Gentile" locals, who voted for affiliation, that the agreement between these bodies called for two scales of wages for painters and carpenters, \$11.20 on new work and \$8.00 on maintenance.

The action of the "Gentile" locals to affiliate with the Building Trades Council was in accordance with the strongest desire of President Lindelof. Two years ago the membership in New York voted overwhelmingly against affiliation with the Building Trades Council, which meant for them the election of business agents for three years and the acceptance of the worst scab agreement in existence, even between reactionary unions and employers. At that time, Mr. Lindelof tried to overrule the decision of the membership by ordering the New York painters council to affiliate with the Building Trades Council. Some locals then went to court and got an injunction restraining Lindelof and the G. E. B. from interfering with the decision of the membership. According to this injunction, only the members, thru a vote, can decide to affiliate with any body they deem necessary.

The action of the McNamara clique therefore, meant for Mr. Lindelof two things, the lifting of the court order on the question of affiliation with the Building Trades Council, thru a vote in the locals and acceptance of the wages provided in that agreement. At the same time, the clique in the "Jewish" locals carried their fight openly for a two-scale agreement and for the forming of a permanent maintenance department in the district council to continue to organize the alteration trade, this department to be maintained thru a special tax levied on the entire membership and special business

Celebration and Banquet

15th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 5, 1932

NEW HARLEM CASINO

SPEAKING :: DINING :: DANCING

— at the —

NEW HARLEM CASINO

116 STREET and LENOX AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

All Proceeds To The "Workers Age"

The Communists and the Unemployed Council

Fort Wayne, Ind.

When a searchlight is thrown on the activities of the Communists in the jobless movement in Fort Wayne, a picture is shown that is interesting but to which little attention has been paid in the Communist press. It may be true that the main task of Communists today is to gain a foothold in the large industrial centers. Yet, it should not be overlooked that it is also important to build a network of organizations all over the country. It is important to establish our movement in small centers that are closely in touch with the countryside and from there penetrate into the real rustic communities. In many European countries, notably Finland, we see the disastrous results of "Red" cities and reactionary countryside. And that should be avoided in U. S. A., even if agriculture plays a less major part in the economic life of the country. For that kind of work, for the establishment of Communist groups in small towns, where the majority of the population has recently come from the farms, where there are no radical traditions, but strong religious sentiments, and firm belief in "old glory" and the "land of the free", for such work, the experiences in Fort Wayne are valuable indeed.

Further, we can also see a picture of the party in action. We shall see what the sectarian course of the three last years has done, what results the "enlightenment campaign" has accomplished. We shall see how difficult it will be to get away from the inheritance of these three years of ultra-leftism, may the party leaders ever so much call for "new turns", may they even repudiate the whole course and admit that they were wrong. Many members will no doubt prefer to drop out, rather than give up the golden dreams of revolution right round the corner.

Sectarianism Defeated

When the unemployed movement started, there were representatives of the Communist Party as well as of the Communist Opposition in it. The two were of about equal strength but both very weak, a tiny minority even among the few workers that started the movement. Both operated fairly independent of their respective headquarters, with no outside help in the form of speakers or otherwise. But both managed to get their voices heard, having a more systematic approach to the problems involved than the other workers. In fact, in the early days it was the Communists who dominated the discussions and gave expressions to the sentiment of the workers. But while the Opposition made a realistic analysis of the problems they were up against, the party members took the well known attitude that they had been taught by their leaders. "We are members of the party, therefore we are the leaders, therefore we are right on all questions, and that does not have to be proven or even pointed out." On concrete issues, this attitude reflected itself most sharply on the question of collection of food for the unemployed. With groceries throwing away carloads that couldn't be sold every week and with farmers close to town, glad to get rid of what they couldn't sell, the Opposition saw the possibilities of such work. It also could see this way as a good way of rallying the masses and, once this was done, more radical steps could be taken. The course of events has completely borne this out. The party members, on the other hand, insisted on evictions as the starting point. Some victim should be found, his furniture should be set back in, and then, they argued, the workers would rush into the council, militant demonstrations could be staged, and more relief would be forthcoming. This theory was never tried in practice, the workers were somewhat sceptical of it, and preferred what the program of the Opposition. The scheme of collecting food was derided as "organized beggary" by the party members. But when they were pinned down on the issue, when, for instance, it was

Some Experiences and Lessons of Struggle

by Harry H. Conner

pointed out to them that the fourteenth plenum of their own party explicitly calls for such activities, they would answer as follows: "We don't have to read those decisions in order to know the policies of the party on that point. It is for the W.I.R. to collect food, not for an unemployed council. As long as we have no section of the W. I. R. in town, we can collect no food". The same plenum mentions the "mechanical approach" that many party members have to their work. There seem to be some reason for that.

Now, there were also points on which the two groups agreed, and where they cooperated. When a party member made a motion to elect delegates to the Hunger March that the party organized last Summer, the Opposition supported this and the motion was passed. Five delegates were elected. But then, when the party man informed them as to when the march would take place, it happened that the day arrived, and

the delegates were ready but no marchers appeared. Later on, the march actually came off, and it was announced that a detachment would go thru Fort Wayne, hold a meeting while there and pick up delegates. Again, nobody showed up, the detachment had in the last minute picked another route, and the crowd that was waiting for a meeting was sadly disappointed.

Other attempts that the unemployed made to get in touch with the unemployed movement of the party didn't fare any better. It was on a motion from an Opposi-

tion member that a letter was written to the national center of the unemployed councils in New York. The letter asked for information as to their membership, as to the demands they raised, as to the methods they used in putting them over, and what success they had had in this respect. Also, the letter inquired about conditions for affiliation. No answer came, but on a second letter they got provoked. The answer was signed by H. Benjamin himself, and stated that the only condition for affiliation was acceptance of the demand for unemployed insurance with full wages, and whatever goes with it. Further, the council would have to stage "militant demonstrations", and fight against evictions in a "revolutionary way." As to membership or success in getting his demands granted, Comrade Benjamin didn't commit himself.

All this happened in the early days of the movement. Later on, as it grew, and assumed a mass character, the party men faded into insignificance. They were on a couple of occasions nominated for some minor offices but they refused to accept. From the very beginning, they regarded it as below their dignity to do day-to-day work in the movement, so naturally whatever following they once had, they have lost. It once happened that they brought some speaker down, who immediately attacked the council here as a fake, as an agency of the bosses and what not. Certainly, the party has had its chances to teach this council a little better. But they have let the chances go, due to their lack of willingness to work with organizations that don't accept their program 100% and also due to the chaos that reigns in the party and in its work.

* * *

Forging Ahead

As to the Opposition, the first article dealt with some of the things it has succeeded in making the council do. At the time this is written, the council is taking a more radical attitude than ever before. It has just presented a series of demands, such as moratorium on rents, free gas, light and water, a moratorium on installment payments on homes, free clothing and shoes for all persons, married or single, children and adults, etc., and that is largely, if not wholly due to the influence of the Communist Party (Opposition). And the majority of the workers know this. The Opposition has not signed up scores of members that will be given the tasks of old-timers in our movement, and therefore give up and drop out after a couple of weeks. Neither has it tried by boisterous bravado to get into the headlines. But it has succeeded in really establishing a fertile field for itself and the ideas of Communism. The workers are willing to listen to us because they know we are their friends and because without us they would be far worse off. With persistent efforts and patient work, the Communist Party (Opposition) feels confident that it will be able to root itself among the workers in Fort Wayne.

JAY LOVESTONE

continues series of lectures on

CURRENT HISTORY

ON FRIDAY EVENINGS,

8:30 P. M. Sharp

Oct. 21: HITLER AND HITLERISM.

Oct. 28: OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

New Workers School

228 Second Avenue
New York City.

A Letter From Toronto, Canada

ABOUT THE UNITED FRONT IN TORONTO

by William Moriarty

Toronto, Canada.

With less than 700,000 population, Toronto has about 60,000 registered at its unemployment bureaus. This figure is exclusive of women workers. There is practically no organization of the jobless, the Communist Party-directed National Unemployed Workers Association notwithstanding. The environments of the city have different working men's associations. These are all directed by reformists. A scattering of left wing organizations exist in the suburbs. It may be truly said that there is no purposeful militant activity in this locality. Up until recently there was an entire absence of united front work.

In July the executive of one of the working men's associations issued a general call to all working class bodies and some petty-bourgeois affairs, to come together for a general size-up of the situation. At the back of the mind of the sponsors of this conference was the idea of unification of farmer and worker, single-taxer, inflationist, and others, for the purpose chiefly of struggling for parliamentary office on a basis of social reform. Of the fifty-four organizations responding (subsequently increased to more than sixty), the majority were of a working class character. Consequently it was not hard to convince these that what was needed was a united front centered about unemployment insurance, a stoppage to evictions, etc., rather than direct their efforts toward the problematical benefits that might accrue as a result of "defeating the government," in the sweet bye and bye. Intelligent left wing work on the part of some was responsible for the adoption of a resolution based upon the standard demands of non-contributory insurance, immediate cash-relief, an end to evictions, etc.

Consideration of the next steps to be taken in the securing of mass support for the resolution resulted in clashes. The Reverend A. E. Smith, leading the Canadian Labor Defense League and Workers Unity League (the Canadian T.U.U.L.—Editor) delegation wanted an immediate demonstration. The writer moved that a council be elected, composed of one representative of each organization, charged with the task of arousing the workers by means of mass meetings, plus the most important one of extending the conference organizationally. This point of view prevailed. Important too, from the angle of the united front tactics was the rhetorical battle waged between A. E. Smith and his fellow cleric, Perry on the question of the seating of the delegation of the Y. C. L. Smith correctly moved that the Y. C. L. comrades be accepted with full rights. Perry declared that were this done he would have to vacate the chair and the church would not be available for the conference after that evening. Smith incorrectly declared that if his motion failed he would have to leave the conference. The decision

went against the Y.C.L. and Smith left the conference, followed by about 25 others. The "Worker" story on this incident implies that that writer neither spoke nor voted on the resolution. I did both. As a matter of fact the left wingers applauded me vigorously. These same comrades remain silent when their paper lies. And here let it be said that the Smith group did not leave the hall for the purposes of considering the next steps. This is a plain fabrication. They bolted the conference. When their ardor had cooled they returned. Not only would I not leave a working class gathering in so unthinkable a manner, thus leaving the conference in the hands of inflationists, single-taxers, social-reformers, and other confusionists, but had I been in the main hall when they left, instead of the committee room with the resolutions committee, I would have attacked the comrades for bolting. The Y. C. L. was not seated because it was apparent to the groupings listed above that already the affair was being taken out of their hands and swung into more direct working class channels. To have had the conference delivered once more into their hands by such a happy chance as plain desertion would have been pie for them. I remember Lenin's words about those "Left" Communists and "how they contradicted their own outcries about the 'masses' . . . Great sacrifices must be made, the greatest hindrances must be overcome, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, stubbornly, insistently and patiently, in all those institutions, societies, and associations, however reactionary, where proletarians or semi-proletarians gather together."

Many of the workers, both then and now, have demanded "action". To them this has meant the passing of resolutions and the presentation of same to the provincial government. This is the parliamentary soil upon which they have been nurtured during the past three years of growing crisis. Little wonder that the undoubted unrest permeating the ranks of the unemployed and employed alike has so far been expressed in ballot-catching organizations and property owners "protective" associations.

The founding of the above Federation (in August) marks the culminating point in the line of development outlined in the paragraph above. The Federation has everything to recommend it to the reformers. It is well-born, being fathered by Woodsworth, Heaps, Agnes MacPhail, Irvine and members of the Federal House. Brownlee is the lawyer leader of the United Farmers of Alberta, which controls the provincial government. A number of professors are listed amongst its Toronto godfathers. The Federation program is an alluring one, for it is all to be gotten by the ballot, and there will not be any rude struggles for power. Planned system of social econ-

omy, socialization of banking and credit, equal economic and social opportunity. These are some of the planks. Inflation has its supporters and the Douglas scheme is boosted.

It is in this direction that some elements seek to turn the Federation of Workers and Producers, the name chosen by the body described in the first part of this article. The Socialist party, the two federated labor parties, have flopped altho committed to the labor party ideal, based in the main upon the trades unions. They intend to march shoulder to shoulder with the middle class. They shield themselves behind the beliefs that because the CCF is a federation that this satisfies desires for the abstract ideal of "unity." "Now we can all get together." "There is no excuse for staying outside." But isn't there?

Any attempt at unification of the working class forces cannot succeed if it be proposed to submerge the fundamental principles of its constituent members. The united front can only succeed if it is based upon such minimum demands as non-contributory insurance (or other immediate demands of the working class) which are concrete enough to stimulate the masses and unite them upon a class basis in opposition to the ruling class. Freedom of criticism must be preserved. An important point, particularly when considered in the light of the personnel of the new federation.

Because of past propaganda for the united front, the masses are likely to be deceived into supporting the C.C.F. Should no other federative organizations exist, the present unrest may be exploited solely by, and in the interests of the Federation. The "Worker" in its attacks upon the C.C.F. persistently describes it as a third party, the tasks of exposing its objectivity pro-capitalist character would be comparatively easy. But by federation, by a distortion of the united front tactics, the reformists will endeavor to root themselves in the masses. Should they get there, it will be the harder to dislodge them. The "Worker" prefers to speak of third party, because this allows it to evade the question of what is to be done. The united front to them now means an affair called, controlled, and directed by the party, hand-picked and rigid. A gathering of yes-men. A reference to the thousands that are pouring into the Farmers Unity League or other subsidiaries. A bubbling-up, as with the Workers Economic Conference. No persistency, no building up, step by step. These tactics must be changed. Methods revised. Real inroads made into the ranks of the workers, until they learn that the road to emancipation is not the one being built for them by the parliamentarians, but the one that is yet to be built which will be based upon revolutionary concepts as to the role of struggle and the united front as an instrument of the class war.

The Group at Work

Unemployed Work In Hartford

Hartford, Conn.

On September 28 there took place here a meeting of about seventy-five jobless workers who are receiving aid from the city in the form of work relief or home relief. Only a few of these workers were radical in any way, members of the Communist Opposition or the Socialist party. The official Communist party was out of the picture altogether. The hall was obtained free of charge. Albert Epstein was chairman. A number of workers spoke, expressing the whole latent militancy but also lack of clarity of the average American worker. The meeting expressed its determination to establish a real non-partisan, non-political organization of the unemployed.

A committee of fifteen was elected and a number of sub-committees chosen from it. A campaign has already been initiated against frauds practised in the city commissary and against the rotten food distributed.

The good response at the meeting is even more striking in view of the great difficulties experienced in advertising it and obtaining publicity.

The Communist Opposition is very active in the movement.

A few days later, the new organization, called the Association of the Unemployed, called a meeting in the Y. M. C. A. building. Over 200 workers responded. The program of the organization was explained. A report was given about the conference with the Mayor. Some aldermen came down with a group of twenty-five in an effort to capture the organization but the efforts failed. A spokesman for the Communist Party was also on the scene to attack the Association.

Another meeting of the Association of the Unemployed was held in the Labor Lyceum. Among those present were about twenty-five Negroes, all of whom joined the organization. For the first time women have been drawn into the movement. The Mayor's representatives were present to spy on the meeting. Four Y. C. L. members were there. This time they used new tactics, actually coming out against splitting and for a united front!

The New York organization of the Communist Opposition is joining with a number of trade unions, labor organizations and sympathetic liberal organizations to secure relief for the miners starving in Illinois.

Big open air election meetings in our campaign for the Communist Party ticket of Foster and Ford have been arranged by the various units. The meetings yet to be held are by the Brooklyn Unit on Thursday, October 27, at Herzl and Pitkin Avenues, and by the Downtown Unit on Thursday, November 3. The other units have already had their rallies.

The joint meeting of all unit executives together with the Sub-Committee on District Affairs has worked out plans for improvement and activation of the unit life.

Comrade Lerner, presenting the viewpoint of the Communist Party (Opposition), delivered an excellent talk on the Trotskyism before the Workers Study Group.

Three new subscribers have been won for the "Workers Age"

Comrade Cox is active in the carpenters local in Los Angeles. In the International Ladies Garment Workers Union local, Comrade Berg has been most active in a campaign to build up the organization which has in six months grown from a handful to about 400.

The local capitalist press has opened a campaign against the Un-

employed Council of Fort Wayne, Ind., denouncing it as a "Red outfit."

There is great interest in the Labor party question in the ranks of the local unions, particularly among the teamsters, printers and chauffeurs.

The Communist Party (Opposition), Anthracite section, is working energetically in preparation for a big Mooney petition drive.

The Communist Party (Opposition), Philadelphia will hold a celebration and mass meeting of the 15th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution on Friday evening, November 11, 1932.

Over 100 workers attended a meeting held by the Boro Park Workers Youth Club at 4109 13th Avenue, Brooklyn, on Sunday, Oct. 9 (Yom Kippur eve). B. Herman of the Communist Party (Opposition), spoke on "Religion and the Working Class" and discussed the origin and nature of religion, the crusade of Pope, minister and Rabbi against the Soviet Union and how the working class should carry on the struggle against this "opium of the people."

A lively and interesting discussion from the floor followed the lecture. The Boro Park workers are enthusiastic over the success of this first lecture of the season, and are planning a series of lectures on Friday nights, beginning October 21.

Lovestone Speaks

In Paterson

Paterson, N. J.

Over 100 workers gathered in Paterson to listen to a lecture by Jay Lovestone on "What's Ahead for the German Workers." Present at the meeting were some of the most militant fighters in the last textile strike, workers supporting various political groups: Socialist party, Socialist Labor party, sympathizers of the official Communist Party, members of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition, etc.

A lively and interesting discussion took place. All workers present displayed great interest in the conditions and future of the German working class. Lovestone pointed out the effect of a Fascist dictatorship would have on the conditions and standard of living of the American workers.

Twenty-two copies of the paper were sold to the workers present. A promise of future lectures to be arranged for members of the Communist Opposition was made. Ten dollars were contributed to the work of the group.

The Relief Committee for the Support of the Political Prisoners in Bialystok, Poland, is arranging a Concert and Dance on Saturday, October 28, at the Bialystok Center, 230 East Broadway. There will be a musical program, prominent speakers and dancing. The admission is 25 cents and all interested in helping the political prisoners in Poland are invited.

President Hoover now admits that the only thing needed to stop the depression is his re-election. Guess we'll have to put up with depression a while longer!

IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On the Resolution of the Recent Party Plenum

The "Daily Worker" of September 30 and October 1, 1932 publishes the resolution adopted by the fifteenth plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States held recently. It is worth while wading thru the dreary stretches of this resolution in order to get an idea of what the line of the party is today. And the picture is one of political confusion and chaos, of disintegration and self-contradiction, of the attempt to execute some "new turn" maneuvers while keeping sacred and untouched the ultra-leftist foundations of the old course.

1. *The estimation of the situation.* Altho the "third period" moonshine of the "onrushing revolutionary wave" is noticeably absent in the resolution, we are nevertheless treated to the following: "In this situation, the sharply increasing radicalization of broad masses hitherto not involved in struggle is more and more taking the form of actions which increase in size and scope." And this is supposed to be descriptive of the condition of the American workers at a time when the disunity, passivity and demoralization of the labor movement should be a biting challenge to every Communist. Self-deception could go no further!

2. *The mass work of the party.* It is emphasized thruout the resolution that the general line of the party based on the general line of the Comintern, is "absolutely correct", and that only the "subordination" of Fascism and semi-Fascism (the new name of the Communist Opposition) would question this. At the same time, we are more favorable conditions for the work, the fundamental change in the party's work... has not been begun. "The failure of the party to advance in mass work" is repeatedly noted. The trade union

work is "extremely weak"; the election campaign is "scandalously inadequate"; the Negro work is in an "extremely dangerous situation." What's the answer? Why this discrepancy between correct line and catastrophic results? An old question!

3. *The "right danger" and sectarianism.* In a way that sounds curiously like the oft-repeated criticisms of the "renegades", we are told that "the chief obstacles which stand in the way of the development of a mass policy" are: "(a) strong sectarian tendencies in the entire work of the party... and (b) bureaucratic methods of work... perhaps you think that, after all, the party leaders are beginning to realize the fatal character of the ultra-leftist course. Of the sectarianism that has well nigh destroyed our party. Then read this in the next paragraph: "The right danger, which is the main danger, is the most serious in view of the sharpening of the mass struggle..." And a few lines further on: "... sectarianism... remains the chief obstacle in the mass work of the party..." It seems incredible: the "right danger" is the "main" danger and sectarianism is the "chief obstacle". But it is only a fair reflection of the bottomless confusion and political demoralization in the party from one end to the other.

4. *About the united front.* The failure to apply the united front tactics is bemoaned several times in this resolution. But here too there is a catch! The "united front" the resolution talks about is the notorious "united front from below", something quite different from what Lenin and the Comintern always meant by the term. The Leninist conception of the united front is a temporary block of labor organizations of varying political tendencies on the basis of a common program of action of immediate demands. In this resolution the "united front" is defined

in a way that can leave no doubt as to its fundamental difference from the Leninist conception; "The united front tactic consists in approaching the non-party masses on the basis of their immediate needs and demands... and developing special forms of organization of these struggles..." The basic organizational form is the committee of action elected from below... Nothing about a block of organizations; the same "independent leadership" fraud again! And yet they want to know the reason for the "failure of the party to advance!"

5. *The trade union question.* The trade union question, about which there has been so much noise recently in the party press (trying to advertise another "new turn") is treated rather summarily in this resolution. Practically nothing at all is said about it. In the next section we will probably hear some "self-criticism" about the "neglect" of trade union work!

6. *The situation within the party.* We have already noted how "bureaucratic methods of work" are given as a cause of the party's bankruptcy. We are also informed of the "lack of initiative and self-reliance in the lower units and committees of the party..." of the "prevailing atmosphere which stifles self-criticism and crushes the initiative of the membership." The writer of the thesis must have been reading the "Workers Age!" But the "turn" is here as superficial as that on the other matters. Just let any party member try to exercise self-criticism and initiative on such questions as the united front or trade union tactics and see where all pious aspirations in resolutions get him!

Such is the resolution of the fifteenth plenum. By the time the sixteenth plenum rolls around, there will be the same platitude, the same alibi, the same "new turns" and an even worse disaster—unless in the meantime the Communist Opposition gets on the job.

In the Comintern

New Expulsions In the C. P. S. U.

Dispatches from Moscow, dated October 11, announce the action of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is expelling from the party Gregory Zinovieff, Leon Kameneff, Nikolai Uglanoff and twenty-one others as "traitors to the party and the working class for trying to form by underground ways a counter-revolutionary organization to reestablish capitalism in the U. S. S. R." Specifically they are charged with "knowing about" a certain Riutin group!

Zinovieff and Kameneff as well as many of the twenty-four were formerly associated with Trotsky in the "Opposition Block" of 1926-1927; Uglanoff and others were formerly with Bukharin, with the so-called "Right opposition." What seems to be behind the whole business is a revival of the "Right-Left Opposition", the Syrtzoff-Lominadze group of a year or so ago.

We do not know the program of the Zinovieff-Kameneff-Uglanoff group. It goes without saying that we regard the charge of "trying to reestablish capitalism in the U. S. S. R." as nothing but shameful slander which the Stalin faction thinks can be made to take place of facts. The meager information at hand makes impossible any definite estimation of the program of this group at the present time. But, whatever the economic proposals of the Zinovieff-Uglanoff group may be, there is not the least excuse in the world for their expulsion! Every honest Communist, every revolutionary worker,

must condemn this expulsion of twenty-four Communists as a crime against the C.P.S.U., against the Comintern, against the Soviet Union! The way to overcome divergent views and differences of opinion is not by expulsions and administrative measures, which only confuse issues and demoralize the movement, but by—party democracy and a free discussion!

The bureaucratic regime dominating the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. is a serious obstacle to carrying out the correct general line of the C.P.S.U. in socialist construction. All the more emphatically do the recent events prove the correctness of the position adopted by the second national conference of the Communist Opposition which, while approving the general line of socialist construction of the Soviet party, sharply condemned the inner-party regime, with all its unprincipledness and factionalism, with its "false, demagogic raising of a cry of 'class enemy viewpoint'" whenever disagreements as to tactics and policy crop up!

RIKSDAG ELECTIONS IN SWEDEN

Stockholm, Sweden.

The election of the 230 representatives of the lower house of the Swedish congress brought a decisive defeat for the bourgeois parties. The Social-democracy won 14 new seats. Their vote increased from 873,000 (1928) to 1,049,000 (1932).

In 1928 the Communist Party of Sweden received altogether 151,000 votes and 8 mandates. And then, in October 1929, the party was split by the leaders of the Communist International. In the recent elections the Comintern party received about 73,000 votes and 2 seats while the Communist Party of Sweden (Opposition) received 132,000 votes and 6 mandates. In all districts where the majority of the members followed the Opposition party in the split, our party increased its vote tremendously. In the few districts where the majority of the members went with the Comintern party, this group suffered a severe defeat and received far less votes than in 1928. There were two exceptions to this rule, namely, in the province of Norrbotten and in the city of Gothenburg. In these two election districts the Comintern party increased its vote. But in the provinces of Kalmars, Kronoberg, Joekoepping, Halland and Oestergoethland—where the majority of the members went with the Comintern section in 1929—there was a sharp decline, whereas the Opposition party strengthened its position.

In Stockholm and in the most important industrial districts the Comintern party was almost completely smashed. In the city of Stockholm the Comintern party received 5,056 while our party received 29,776. In the Stockholm province the relation was 346 to 11,255; in Upsala province, 69 to 1,174; in Soermland, 164 to 4,417; in Koppaberg province, 1,008 to 13,007; in Orebro province, 689 to 6,993. All of these districts are highly industrial sections.

Only in Norrbotten, in the city of Gothenburg and in the province of Westnorland did the Comintern party succeed in getting a trifle more than we did. In a number of other districts too we did not make out as well as we might.

During the election campaign 120 local organizations were established. The party today has 385 locals. In the same period about 1,500 members were recruited. Our youth league also succeeded in strengthening itself in the election campaign so that it now has 200 locals with 8,000 members.

Disappeared!

We are looking now for the man who said that the Seabury Commission would clean up corruption in New York City.

With the Working Youth

Help the Striking Illinois Miners!

In an attempt to aid the hard-pressed Illinois miners, who have been on strike for weeks against the greatest odds, against the combined forces of the operators, the government and the Lewis bureaucracy, the three youth organizations signing the call printed below decided to call a conference to get together all young workers and students organizations in New York City. The conference was called on the broadest possible basis. Neither endorsement of the new Illinois miners union nor condemnation of the old was asked. No political agreement on the part of the participating organizations was requested. It was organized only on the basis of helping the striking miners carry on a fight for decent living conditions.

The conference was held Friday, October 14, and was attended by the representatives of a number of youth organizations. It is unfortunate, however, that even on an issue so broad, the Young People's Socialist League, under instructions from the Socialist party, was forced to withdraw from the conference. Every young Socialist should protest against this action and demand the right of his organization to participate in the movement to help the miners. It is likewise noteworthy that the official Young Communist League refused even to send an observer to the conference. How can the members of the Y. C. L. tolerate a policy which shuts them off from every attempt to unite youth organizations on a common base for common activity to help labor struggles?

Despite the position of the Y.P.S.L. and the Y.C.L., the conference held on Friday, October 14, decided to go ahead. A provisional committee of the Youth Conference for Support to the Illinois Miners was set up and plans for another and larger conference on

Thursday evening, October 27, were laid. Arrangements for a two day and a city-wide affair were initiated.

October 10, 1932

To All Organizations of Young Workers and Students

Dear Comrades:

This communication comes to you from three organizations of New York young workers and students, and from four duly accredited delegates of the Progressive Miners of America. The Progressive Miners of America have been leading a militant strike in Illinois since April first. Today, thirty thousand miners and their families are entirely dependent on the union for relief, and without this relief it will be impossible for them to continue their fight. Men, women and children are showing splendid courage, but they are on the verge of starvation and the union is now forced to appeal to the whole American working class and its sympathizers for support. The organizations listed below join with the delegates of the union in urging your organization to participate in a broad, united front tag day collection in support of the Illinois miners.

Specifically, we ask you to send three delegates to a preliminary conference on Friday, October the fourteenth at 8 P. M., where plans will be laid for making the drive a success by drawing into it the largest possible number of organizations and collectors . . .

Address all correspondence to Larry Cohen, 128 East 16th Street, New York City.

Progressive Miners Union,

Young People's Socialist League, Youth Section Communist Party (Opposition).

Youth Section Conference for Progressive Labor Action.



THE GREAT PLAINS, by Walter Prescott Webb, Ginn and Company, New York, 1932.

In spite of some only too obvious shortcomings, this book is certain to leave an indelible impression upon writing and thinking on American history in the future. In this respect it must be rated as a classic of the character of Professor Turner's famous work on the frontier.

It is a study of the Great Plains, the huge stretch of territory approximately between the ninety-eighth meridian and the Western timber region, more scientifically and accurately defined by the following three characteristics: (a) it exhibits a comparatively level surface of great extent; (b) it is a treeless land, an unforested area; and (c) it is a region where rain is insufficient for the ordinary intensive agriculture (sub-humid climate). Professor Webb describes the physical basis of the Great Plains environment in interesting fashion and then proceeds to expound and illustrate his main thesis: "The Plains worked their will and man conformed" (page 229), so that "men had to give up old methods and adopt new ones when they crossed the ninety-eighth meridian (and) only those who were willing to do this and do this rapidly would survive in the new environment" (page 246).

In this light Professor Webb studies the Plains Indians, their characteristics, their sign language, and the revolution in their mode of life created by the introduction of the horse. The Spanish approach to the Great Plains next occupies his attention, in the course of which he makes a striking analysis of the interrelated role of economic system and physical-geographic environment in the description of the factors that made for the failure of the Spanish colonization of the Great Plains and for the ultimate success of the Anglo-American venture.

But all this is, of course, in the

YOUNG WORKERS!
YOUNG STUDENTS!

Bertram D. Wolfe

Speaks on

"What Communist Opposition Stands For"

at

228 SECOND AVENUE

on

WED. OCT. 26 — 8 P. M.

Questions and Discussion Will Follow!

Admission . . . Free

nature of an introduction. It is the American approach to the Great Plains, in all its implications, that is the main subject of the book. The profound and sometimes spectacular adaptation of the pioneers to the new environment when they passed the ninety-eighth meridian is described in fascinating detail. It is impossible here even to outline this description but attention must be called to the remarkable story of the six-shooter, to the great fence problem and its final solution in the barbed-wire fence, to the strange epic of the rise and fall of the cattle kingdom, and to search for water in the Great Plains. Especially competent is the discussion of the modification and transformation of the English and Eastern United States law of land and water under the impact of the new conditions—a splendid illustration of how the ways of the law are but the reflections of the ways of life!

The fundamental methodological weakness of the work is its tremendous overemphasis of passive adaptation and its almost complete neglect of the active factor, of man's social activity in remaking his environment. Professor Webb formally recognizes the dialectical relation between man and environment but the magnitude of the Great Plains and the incredible power of their natural forces overwhelm him and an altogether one-sided picture, at least in emphasis, results.

When Professor Webb remains close to nature, his analysis is penetrating and his reasoning cog-

Education in the Soviet Union

MOSCOW—Tremendous advances have been made by the Soviet Union bodies in the struggle against illiteracy and in the spread of education among the masses. Here are some of the figures of the report:

Thirty out of every 100 persons are receiving "higher education" today, whereas only ten out of every 100 had as much as two years of primary education in Czarist Russia.

Eighty millions of the population are drawn into all sorts of cultural work, three times the number expected at the conclusion of the first Five-Year plan at the end of this year. This is compared with fewer than 9,000,000 who had cultural advantages in Czarist Russia.

Illiteracy and semi-illiteracy of 19,000,000 people have been wiped out in the course of two years (1931 and 1930). Six million were taught by the Down With Illiteracy Society.

Soviet leaders declare Russia will have established universal primary education and have wiped out nearly all illiteracy among the workers up to the age of 50 in the course of the second five-year plan, which becomes effective at the beginning of 1933.

An increase in investments in cultural activities of from 849,000,000 rubles (nominally \$424,500,000) for 1932 to 3,896,000,000 rubles (nominally \$1,948,000,000) in 1937, was predicted by authorities. Production of school appliances and supplies are to be increased nine times.

But when he wanders into the field of social life and the life of the spirit, he is the ordinary petty bourgeois philistine tamely speculating on things he knows nothing about. As a result the last two chapters of the volume, "The Literature of the Great Plains and About the Great Plains" and "The Mysteries of the Great Plains in American Life", are miserable and it would add greatly to the book were they omitted altogether.

X. Y. Z.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

On the Question of Trade Unions

by Bertram D. Wolfe

WHAT IS A TRADE UNION?

We continue below the series of articles by Bertram D. Wolfe, "What the Communist Opposition Stands For"

* * *

The differences between the official Communist Party and the Communist Opposition are manifested most sharply in the field of trade union work. These differences show themselves even in the answers to the most elementary questions concerning the unions.

1. *What are the trade unions?* The unions are the most elementary, the broadest mass organizations of the working class. They are "the primary school for Socialism" (Marx). They should include all workers regardless of creed, color, sex, age, occupation or political belief. The acid-test of the soundness of a union organization is its functioning in a strike struggle. When a strike begins, we do not ask a worker: "Are you Catholic, Jew or Protestant? Are you Republican, Democrat or Socialist? Are you Fascist or Ku Klux Klanner? If so you can't go out on strike with us."

On the contrary, we say to a racist or Ku Kluxer or Tammany voter: "You work in the same shop. You have the same interests. You suffer the same conditions, wage-cuts, long hours. You have the same enemy, the same boss. Therefore you must come out with us!"

Obviously, then, a union is not a political party. It must not exclude, but include. It must not have a program appropriate to an advanced political party if its aim is to include politically backward workers. It cannot demand that all workers favor proletarian dictatorship, or Communist candidates, or turning imperialist war into civil war, or even defense of the Soviet Union, before they can join. In short a union of Communists and their close sympathizers is no union at all. It must seek to include all who toil, all who recognize the elementary fact that in questions of hours, wages and working conditions, there is a conflict of interest between bosses and workers. And it

must so defend the interests of these workers, as gradually to develop their sense of solidarity and class consciousness to the understanding of the wider class aims of the proletariat.

2. *Are the Communists interested in wages and hours and other "petty" questions?* To this question we reply with an answer of Marx and Engels that will never be "out-of-date."

"The Communists," says the Communist Manifesto, "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole . . ."

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

3. *How should Communists act in unions they "control"?* Given the relations of forces and stage of working class development prevailing today in America, Communists are not likely to be at the head of many genuine unions. Only exceptionally, where the industry is in such a state as to have a specially radicalizing effect, or a majority of the workers are recruited from some foreign nationality having an advanced Socialist tradition, or the Communists have taken the initiative in organizing some hitherto unorganized field, are the Communists likely to be found at the head of genuine, widely inclusive unions.

Even in such cases, the Communist Opposition insists that the Communists must so conduct themselves as not to narrow the union down to Communists and their closest sympathizers, and must seek to link their union in question up with the rest of the labor movement rather than to isolate it from the other unions.

The Communists must propose an elementary program of class struggle, not an advanced program fit only for adherents of the party.

They must lead the union in the sense of inspiring, convincing and guiding, not in the sense of controlling, bossing and running it. They must practise what they preach in other unions—no bureaucratic control, union democracy, maximum initiative and activity of the rank and file, no orders or officers imposed upon the membership from above by a secret caucus or a mysterious order from "headquarters", but patient proposal, explanation, and conviction, the willingness to accept defeat and abide by decisions, without expelling or splitting unions, knowing that future developments and proper explanation will in the long run convince.

* * *

SOME SECOND-HAND COMMUNIST PARTIES

The conduct of the official party in the few paper

"mass" organizations it controls, is a perfect model of how not to guide and lead a trade union.

In the International Labor Defense, the International Workers Order, and foreign-language fraternal and benefit societies, all supposed to be "united front mass organizations" accepting every one who stands on the elementary ground of the class struggle, the party has expelled those who did not accept its full program, just as if these organizations were so many Communist parties (and parties with an unhealthy, undemocratic inner regime at that!). The International Labor Defense, supposed to include and defend workers of all political tendencies suffering persecution for labor activities, has expelled "Trotskyites" and "Lovestonites" and has even expelled those who, knowing no "isms", have criticized some act of an official. They have refused to defend Opposition Communists arrested on the picket line!

All these organizations have their officers handed down to them by decision of the Communist fraction or the Central Committee, their funds voted by hand-picked officials for party purposes without troubling to get the consent of the membership, decisions made for them before they meet and no discussion or criticism permitted, the persistent discussers and critics being branded as "Lovestonites", the they never heard of Lovestone, and then being expelled. Hence it is not hard to understand why the foreign-language organizations (Finnish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, etc.) have split and all Communist-bossed organizations have dwindled into mere diluted replicas of the party. Membership in them is a kind of substitute or second-hand membership in a substitute or second-hand Communist party with few duties and no rights.

FATE OF THE DUAL UNIONS

In the Communist-controlled "unions" (shoeworkers, National Miners Union, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, Food Workers Industrial Union, etc.), the situation is even worse. They exist only on paper. They include only Communists (not all eligible party members even are in them!) and a few close sympathizers who regard membership as a second-hand party membership. Everything is decided by orders from above and the chief functions of these unions are to try to split mass unions, to call rival strikes when A. F. of L. unions call strikes, to offer sometimes "cheap terms" of settlement to get boss recognition (Paterson, New York dress strike, etc.), to divide the unity of the workers, and to pull every awakening worker out of the existing unions as soon as he becomes friendly. Next Issue: WORK IN REACTIONARY UNIONS

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the

Workers Age Publishing Assn., 228 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.

Phone: GRamercy 5-1660

Organ of the National Council of the

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)

Subscription rates: Foreign \$2.50 a year, \$1.50 six months, 5 cents a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year, \$0.75 six months.

VOL. 2, — No. 2.

NOVEMBER 1, 1932.

FOR A UNITED LABOR TICKET!

THE appeal for a united labor ticket in the coming municipal elections in New York City, which we carried in our September 24 issue, has greatly gained in timeliness and urgency in view of what has happened in the last few weeks. With the peculiar way it has of disappointing the Polyanna "reformers", Tammany has staged a sensational come-back, has rallied its forces and brazenly nominated a nonentity by the name of O'Brien. The only qualification of this personage seems to be that he is willing to serve as "stop-gap mayor", that he is anxious to take orders from the Hall, that he is enthusiastic to keep to the course of his predecessor, Jimmy Walker, whose administration, O'Brien told us in his acceptance speech, has been "one of the most splendid and constructive in the city's history!" He assumes with ecstasy the job of defending the system and regime of which Big Boss Curry, ex-Mayor Walker and ex-Sheriff Farley are the fine flowers and the "little tin box", the "thirty-three McQuades" and the "beneficent friends" are the chosen symbols.

The Republican machine, that fawning poor relation of Tammany Hall, has gone thru the motions and put up an even greater nonentity, some obscure local politician by the name of Pounds. His main qualification seems to be that he "thinks" Jimmy Walker is a "swell fellow but no student!" The middle class "reformers" haven't even been able to scare up enough backbone to make a peep—Hofstadter is licking the boots of Tammany and liking it, while McKee is cursing under his breath but bowing obediently.

It is clear: Only the workers can put up an effective challenge to the whole rotten system of which all civic corruption is the inevitable outgrowth. Only the workers can challenge those intimate relations between big business and city politics, from which flow all rackets, big and small, from the ex-Mayor with his unexplained millions down to the vice-squad cops framing girls for a few dollars. Unless the giant racket, capitalism, is hit, the other rackets in the city government and out, cannot be touched!

But if labor is to live up to its opportunity and to its mission it must put an end to the suicidal condition in its own ranks. It must sternly check those so-called "labor leaders", such as the heads of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, whose chief stock in trade it is to sell the "labor vote" at so much per head to Tammany Hall. It must unite all its forces and all its organizations in support of a UNITED LABOR TICKET standing foursquare for the interests of labor and determined and able to make a clean sweep of the whole dirty mess. Only labor can measure up to the job, for basically only labor has no finger in the pie of capitalism, only labor is not tied to it in a fundamental sense.

A UNITED LABOR TICKET, supported by the Communist and Socialist Parties and by as many trade unions and workers organizations as possible, a UNITED LABOR TICKET based upon a realistic program of immediate demands, a UNITED LABOR TICKET which will put fight and enthusiasm in the workers of this city—this is the demand of the hour.

The Communist Party should take the initiative in a step of such moment to labor. The opportunity presented in the municipal elections this year is great indeed! Will the Communist forces prove equal to it?

PUT OVER THE "AGE" DRIVE!

WHEN this issue of the "Workers Age" appears, the Big Sub and Circulation Drive will be well on its way and within six weeks of its conclusion. The success of this Drive is, in plain terms, a life-and-death question for our paper.

Some time ago, the cumulative force of the deep economic crisis and the impoverishment of the workers that it has brought in its train, forced us to convert our weekly into a semi-monthly. We pointed out, at that time, that even the semi-monthly could not continue to exist unless all the readers and supporters of the "Age" got on the job immediately to put over the Drive for 1,000 new readers. We pointed out also that, on the other hand, if this Drive were put over successfully it would be a big step towards changing our paper back into a weekly.

And this is a fact: IT IS EITHER DO OR DIE! Times are getting increasingly difficult for labor papers. The "Volkszeitung", one of the oldest labor papers in this country, has been forced to suspend, thus following "Il Martello" (the anarchist paper) and a number of others. This fate is in store for the "Age" UNLESS every one of its readers and supporters gets on the job BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

A thousand new readers for the "Age", including new subscriptions and increased bundle orders, are surely not too much to ask for! Especially considering that during the period of the Drive, that is, up to December 15, the price of a year's subscription has been reduced to the extremely low figure of ONE DOLLAR.

Readers and supporters of the "Age"! Members and sympathizers of the Communist Opposition! We appeal to you! THE FATE OF OUR PAPER IS IN YOUR HANDS! Put over the Drive and put it over quick. ONE THOUSAND NEW READERS BY DECEMBER 15!

Unemployed Association In Appeal for Aid

Help The Jobless Organize Themselves

We have received the following communication from the chairman of the New York Association of the Unemployed.—Editor.

New York City.

A few months ago the unemployed of New York City, in a spontaneous movement, banded themselves together into an organization. Recognizing their common needs and that only by organized effort could they hope for some amelioration of their desperate condition, they formed the Association of the Unemployed. The Association is non-political and has for its aims the achievement of adequate relief in the form of unemployment insurance, jobs not charity, and a decent allowance for the needs of the unemployed under the present relief system.

During the short period of its existence, the Association has succeeded in mobilizing thousands of unemployed in its ranks, with branches in every borough of the city. The eager response of the unemployed to such organization is clear indication of their gradual realization that real relief lies in their own hands thru organized pressure brought to bear on the administration. However, because of its very character, and its refusal to accept the backing of politically ambitious groups, the Association is faced with serious obstacles in achieving the compact and smoothly running machinery necessary for carrying out its broad and vital program. At this stage, there are several specific and immediate needs for which the Association has not funds. These are:

1. Headquarters: any loft, unused office, unoccupied store, space of any sort, in Manhattan, would serve the purpose. The members of the Association will gladly give services in the upkeep of such space in exchange for its use.
2. Office equipment: furniture, typewriters, files, mimeograph machines, stationery, and any other furnishings of a similar sort.
3. The occasional temporary loan of idle trucks or similar vehicles for certain phases of the work of the organization. The owners can be assured that such vehicles will be handled only by skilled mechanics.

4. Of course, money is always in need, and all cash donations, however small, will be gratefully welcome.

We feel sure that an organization such as ours cannot fail to find many sympathizers among those who are in a position to supply some of the necessities speci-

fied above and who will in this way help the unemployed to fight for their rights as human beings. Further information about the Association of Unemployed may be obtained at its headquarters at 19 Eighth Avenue.

LET HIM MAKE UP HIS MIND!

Candidate Roosevelt, speaking in Columbus on August 20: "Appraising the situation in the bitter dawn of a cold morning after, we find: Two-thirds of American industry concentrated in a few hundred corporations and actually managed by no more than 5,000 men. Fewer than three dozen private banking houses directing the flow of American capital within the country and to those 'backward and crippled nations' on which the President built so heavily."

And one month later: "The railroad industry's owners are not, as many suppose, great railway magnates sitting in luxurious offices and clubs. They are the people thrust out the country who have a savings account or an insurance policy . . . Railroad stocks are held . . . by school teachers, doctors, salesmen, thrifty workmen. Experts in railroad finance know that perhaps 20,000,000 people have a say in these great American enterprises."—Candidate Roosevelt in Salt Lake City September 17.

Candidate Roosevelt should make up his mind! He'll soon be known as the "forgetting man" in place of the forgotten man.

By the way, now we know what the "D" is for. It's Franklin Demagogue.

Who Started It?

Hoover is indignant that Roosevelt blames the depression on the President. Hoover is right. But who was it that said that the President could give permanent prosperity? The chicken that was once in every pot has come home to roost and now its chef that's in the soup.

Anatomical Observation

The Republican Party in New York City is only the hind end of the Tammany Tiger. The climax of monstrosities of nature is a tiger with an elephant's tail.

Municipal government is a stable that Hercules couldn't have cleaned up. Nothing will do the job but the big broom of proletarian revolution.

New Workers School

228 Second Avenue, Corner 14 Street

COURSES STILL OPEN

FOR INFORMATION ON OTHER COURSES WRITE FOR CATALOGUE

COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS,

Alex Bail

TUESDAY, at 8:30 P. M. beginning October 11

Fee: \$2.50

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,

Herbert Zam.

TUESDAY at 7:00 P. M. beginning October 11.

Fee: \$2.50

BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF MARXISM, B. Herman

TUESDAY, at 7:00 P. M. beginning October 11

Fee: \$2.50

Reductions for two or more courses



BEDSIDE CONSULTATION

(As seen by George M. Colman and Schnozzle Durante)

Doc Hoover:

If you hadn't called me, as I said, In a week she would be dead . . . She'd have been a goner sure

Chorus of Cabinet officers:

She'd have been a goner sure, But Herbert he has got the cure!

Doc Glass:

Don't believe it—if she's sick, I know a man can turn the trick. Doc Roosevelt, will bring her back . . .

Chorus of Cabinet officers:

Quack! Quack! Quack! Quack! Quack! Quack!

Doc Roosevelt:

just pat The pay Shunt on The back!

What madam needs is just a snack, Jackass gin will bring her back.

Chorus:

Quack! Quack! Quack!

Doc Roosevelt (assuming his most cheerful bedside manner): My bill? My friend, why that's O. K.

I'll take it out in trade some day.

Doc (Rev.) Thomas:

Her need is prayer, her soul is ill. Prayer and a small Milwaukee pill.

All:

Cheese it, fellow, here comes Bill!

Doc Foster:

Stand back! The lady's soul's not sick, Gin would never turn the trick! Haven't you fellows any brains? What the patient has is labor pains Pregnant with a new society . . .

Chorus of Cabinet officers, Docs Hoover, Roosevelt and Thomas all agast:

What the patient has is labor pains! Pregnant with a new society . . . What's gonna happen to you and me? What's gonna happen to you and me?

Signs of Humanity

Jack London tells how Martin Eden, rough sailor lad, discovered that the beautiful, thoroughbred society girl of his dreams was human when he found that after physical exertion she began to sweat. We now communicate to our astonished readers that despite his apparently lacking a heart, Herbert Hoover is also in some degree human for he can bleed. It took 3,000 handshakes to do it. Maybe his hands bled in default of a heart, for the other 2,500 in line whose votes may go astray because the old pumphantle on America's official premier handshakes wouldn't pump any more. We have a strange feeling that the mitt will get a long and much merited rest after March 4 next.

The Verbal Overproduction Theory

Some friend of his, if he has any left, should tip off Hoover to quit making speeches. He spoke on farm relief at Des Moines and he wheat took a two-cent drop. He told how he had saved the dollar from going off the gold standard and the dollar dropped heavily in foreign exchange. He boasted that the stock market rise was the beginning of prosperity and the bottom dropped out of the market. Now that bourgeois economists have abandoned the sun-spot theory of crises, they might begin to work out the correlation between the opening of the President's face and the shutting of factories.

—B. D. W.